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EDITED BY DR CH. WARDI

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL
MINISTRY FOR RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

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IN MEMORIAM

RABBI YAAQOV MOSHE TOLEDANO

Minister of Religious Affairs

On Saturday morning, 15th October, Rabbi Yaaqov Moshe Toledano died in Jerusalem at the age of eighty. To avoid marring the serenity of the Sabbath, the announcement of his death was withheld until the evening of that day. When the news was broadcast at seven p.m., the entire nation went into mourning. Jews, Christians, Moslems and others felt equally that a warm-hearted statesman and a friend to all had passed away.

It may seem presumptuous of us to eulogize Rabbi Toledano. Surely others are better qualified to speak of his religious qualities, his biblical and talmudic learning, and his numerous valuable contributions to Jewish scholarship. We should like rather to recall his human qualities, his art of administration, his regard for other religious leaders and his striving for the peaceful and friendly coexistence of the religious Communities in Israel.

The various positions which he occupied in countries where his co-religionists formed a minority—and whom he so courageously represented—induced in him respect for others and the desire to see justice done to all in the Israel which he lived to see emerge, which he so dearly loved and in whose service he spent the last years of his long career.

On the various occasions on which we met Rabbi Toledano, we were always impressed by his personal charm and natural affability, which animated the many external forms of his oriental courtesy.

Always solicitous about the problems brought to his attention, he concerned himself with the smallest details and was able to make quick decisions when necessary, sometimes dispensing with bureaucratic procedures too sluggish for his taste. Unaffiliated to any single political party, he exercised his influence for the benefit of all, without forgetting thereby his Sephardi origin and the greater needs of the less privileged among the members of his community.

After two years of devoted, exacting service, Rabbi Toledano died in the breach; his name and memory will long be remembered by all the inhabitants of Israel, without distinction of race or religion.

Georges Hakim, Archbishop of Galilee

* * *

Rabbi Toledano was born in Tiberias in 1880. From 1920 on he held important religious positions in Jewish communities in North Africa, including that of Deputy Chief Rabbi of Egypt. In 1941, he became the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv. In November 1958, he was appointed Minister of Religious Affairs, a post he held until his death. His scholarly contributions include the discovery of a manuscript of Maimonides' commentary on the *Mishna*, a commentary on portions of the *Mishna*, a history of Moroccan Jewry and a history of Tiberias.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

STUDIUM BIBLICUM FRANCISCANUM RAISED TO ACADEMIC RANK

On 14 June, the Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor was informed by Cardinal Pizzardo, Prefect of the S. Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, that approval had been granted for the transference of the entire "Biblical Section" incorporated in the Theological Faculty of the Pontifical *Athenaeum Antonianum* from its present seat in Rome to the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*, housed at the monastery of the Flagellation in the Old City of Jerusalem. The decision was taken in view of the high academic and scientific standards achieved at the *Studium* under the scholarly leadership of its Rectors and Faculty. Father Donato Baldi, who has been rector since 1938, will from now on be Director of the *Studium* and Vice-Dean of the Theological Faculty of the *Athenaeum Antonianum*.

The *Studium* was founded in 1927 for students of Holy Scripture attending the Franciscan College of Sant'Antonio in Rome. It has since become a centre for teaching and scientific research for members of all religious orders. During the past thirty years, its archaeologists have carried out excavations at Mt Nebo (1933-7), Mount of the Beatitudes (1935), Ain Karem (1938-42), El-Qubeibeh (1940-3), Tiberias (1944),

Bethlehem (1949), Bethany (1949-53), Mt Olivet (1953-55), Mt Carmel and, quite recently, Nazareth (1955-60). The results of these investigations have been published in a series of monographs which also includes critical editions of old "itineraries" and descriptions of the Holy Land. Mention should also be made of the *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, by Father D. Baldi, and of the *Historical Atlas of the Bible*, by Baldi and Lemaire. Since 1950, the *Studium* has published a *Liber Annuus* which contains studies and essays on biblical and archaeological subjects. (Most of these volumes have been reviewed in former issues of this journal.)

AT THE GREEK ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM

On 15 June, a letter signed by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem informed the Ministry of Religious Affairs that the Rev. Archimandrite Chrysanthos Limberis had been appointed Director of the Finances of the Patriarchate in lieu of the Rev. Archimandrite Germanos Mamaladis, who had been assigned the important function of *scevophylax* (Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre). Both Father Chrysanthos, who was born in Samos in 1918, and Father Germanos, born in Chios in 1920, are graduates of the Theological School of Athens University and have lived for many years in the Holy Land.

A BUILDING FOR THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

On 30 June, work was begun in Nazareth on the construction of a religious centre for the Church of the Nazarene. The building will house a chapel, offices and living quarters.

The Church of the Nazarene began its work in the Holy Land in 1918, mainly among Armenian Protestants. Its activity in Israel was severely limited in 1948, owing to the fact that most of its members then moved to the Old City. In 1955, the Church opened a new field of work in Nazareth among Armenians and Arabs, and the need for a religious centre is now felt there.

PASTORAL VISIT OF MARONITE BISHOPS

On 8 July, His Excellency Mgr Joseph Khoury, Maronite Bishop of Tyre (whose diocese includes the northern part of Israel), arrived here on a pastoral visit, accompanied by His Excellency Mgr Anton Khreish, Maronite Bishop of Sidon. The Bishops and their party were welcomed at Rosh Hanikra by Government officials and by members of the Christian clergy headed by the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee.

Bishops Khoury and Khreish spent two weeks in the country, during which they visited the Maronite communities of Haifa, Acre, Nazareth, Jaffa and Jish (Gush-Halav). While in Jerusalem they were received at the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In Nazareth, Jaffa and Haifa, Their Excellencies were the guests of honour at several receptions offered by the Maronite communities.

MELKITE SYNOD HELD IN THE OLD CITY

On 11 July, a general synod of the Greek Catholic (Melkite) Church, the first since 1850, met in the Old City of Jerusalem under the presidency of His Beatitude Mgr Maximos IV, Patriarch of Antioch and all the East, of Alexandria and Jerusalem. The synod remained in session for six days and was closed with a solemn pontifical liturgy performed by the Patriarch and all the Bishops in concelebration. The Israel branch of the Church, which numbers some nineteen thousand souls, was represented by His Excellency Mgr Georges Hakim, Archbishop of Galilee.

As the first item on the agenda, the synod reviewed the situation of the Patriarchal See of Jerusalem in order to study means for developing its activities, its institutions, and its secular and regular clergy. A number of other matters, liturgical, spiritual and juridical, were also discussed. A meeting held on the premises of the Custody between the Patriarch and all the Bishops on one hand, and the Custos of the Holy Land and his Discretory on the other, was particularly important for the improvement of relations between the two large Catholic Communities.

FORMER HEAD OF MOSCOW PATRIARCHAL MISSION IN JERUSALEM CONSECRATED A BISHOP

On 12 July, information was received at the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the effect that the Rev. Archimandrite Nicodim Rotov, who had served as Head of the Moscow Patriarchal Mission in Jerusalem from 1957 to 1959, had been consecrated Bishop of Podolsk and appointed Director of the Foreign Relations Office of the Moscow Patriarchate. His predecessor in the latter office was the famous Metropolitan Nicolai who, from 1944 on, was closely associated with Patriarch Alexius in his work for the Russian Orthodox Church.

Bishop Nicodim, who is now in his early thirties, spent four years in Israel. During this time he learned to speak Hebrew and wrote a history of the Mission since its establishment by Archimandrite Porphyri Uspienski more than a hundred years ago.

DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY COMMEMORATE THEIR FOUNDERS

On 19 July, the Daughters of Charity, who are in charge of the Jerusalem Hospice of St Vincent, commemorated the three-hundredth anniversary of the death of the founders of their Congregation, St Vincent de Paul and his collaborator, Ste Louise de Marillac. A solemn mass was celebrated on the occasion by the Rev. Father Antonio Battista, O.F.M., Superior of Terra Sancta, in the presence of Baron Christian de Sainte-Marie, Consul-General of France in Jerusalem, and the members of his staff. The panegyric on the two saints was pronounced by the Rev. Father Bruno Hussar, O.P.

On 30 July, a film was shown by the Lazarist Fathers and the Daughters of Charity, in the concert hall made available by the YMCA, evoking the times of "Monsieur Vincent" and his life in the service of the poor.

AT THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHAL MISSION IN JERUSALEM

On 27 July, the personnel of the Moscow Patriarchal Mission in Jerusalem increased by six, with the arrival of the Rev. Igumen Varpholomey (Vendorowski) and five nuns. Father Varpholomey will serve in Jerusalem as Deputy-Chief of the Mission and the nuns will be attached to the *Gornyenski* Monastery at Ain Karem.

The Moscow Patriarchal Mission at present comprises two archimandrites, one *igoumen*, one *ieromonach*, a married deacon and an administrator. The Mission is in charge of Russian churches and chapels in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Magdala.

BEQUEST OF CHRISTADELPHIAN TO THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

On 9 August, the Board of Governors of the Jewish National Fund was informed that, upon the execution of the will of the late James Bell, a Christadelphian from Durban, South Africa, the Fund received the amount of IL.107,742. The testament of Mr Bell, who died on 23 October 1959, reads as follows: "I bequeath the whole of the residue of my Estate and effects of whatsoever nature and wheresoever situated, movable and immovable, nothing excepted, unto the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet Leisrael) of Jerusalem, Israel, for the furtherance of their ideals, which is a part of the Divine programme centred in these people."

The Christadelphians (Christ's Brethren) are a sect founded in America by John Thomas in 1848. Their doctrines, which they claim to represent a return to the beliefs and practice of the earliest disciples, include the acceptance of the Bible as inspired and infallible and the interpret-

ation of Hebrew prophecy (including the Book of Revelation) in terms of current and future events. The core of the Gospel is the belief in the return of Jesus Christ in power and great glory to set up a visible worldwide theocracy beginning in Jerusalem.

THE DAY OF ST CLAIRE IN JERUSALEM

On 12 August, the Day of St Claire was observed at the Chapel of the Sisters of St Claire in Jerusalem. In the early morning, a conventual mass was said by the Rev. Father Patrick Coyle, O.F.M., almoner of the monastery. Later in the day, a solemn mass was chanted by the Rev. Father Charles Cornille, *Discreto* of the Custody of the Holy Land. Baron Christian de Sainte-Marie, Consul-General of France, was accorded liturgical honours.

In the afternoon, the panegyric upon the saint was pronounced by the Rev. Giraud-Mounier, O.P., Prior of the Convent of St Stephen, in the Old City. After the sermon, the blessing of the Holy Sacrament was given by the Rev. Father Augustin Pataconi, O.F.M., President of the Monastery of Gethsemane.

MR BENSON REGARDS ISRAEL AS FULFILMENT OF MORMON PROPHECY

On 16 August, Mr Ezra Benson, US Secretary of Agriculture, concluded a four-day visit to Israel, during which he made a study of agricultural and other developments in the country. Before leaving, Mr Benson, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, declared: "The prophecy of the Mormon community, made as long ago as 1841, that the Jewish people would return to the Land of Israel and turn it into a land of milk and honey, is taking place before our very eyes, in such a speedy and wonderful way that it can only be called a modern miracle."

Mormons who visit this country often point out that their fathers' epic trek westward to the Salt Lake took place exactly one hundred years before the UN decision on the partition of Palestine, which gave such a great impetus to the "trek" of Jews from all parts of the world to Israel.

ISRAEL PRIEST TO SERVE ON A PONTIFICAL COMMISSION

On 29 August, the Rev. Don Giovanni Kaldani of Nazareth was informed by the Vatican Secretariat of State that His Holiness Pope John XXIII had deigned to appoint him to be one of the consultants to the Pontifical Commission of Oriental Churches for the preparation of the Second Vatican Oecumenical Council.

Father Kaldani, who served as pro-Vicar-General of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem from 1957 to 1959, is now President of the Latin Ecclesiastical Court in Israel.

ISRAEL CATHOLICS AT THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS IN MUNICH

On 31 August, His Excellency Mgr Georges Hakim, Greek Catholic Archbishop of Galilee, returned from Europe where he attended the thirty-seventh International Eucharistic Congress, held in Munich on 1-7 August. Among those who accompanied the Archbishop were the Rev. Father Jacques Raad, Superior of the Maronite Convent in Jaffa, and Dr Maurice Srouji, a Nazareth Catholic.

In an interview with the press, the Archbishop described the impressive gatherings and solemn functions which took place during the Congress and the exhibitions of art arranged for the occasion. Mgr Hakim said that he had been particularly moved by what he had seen and heard during a visit to the site of the former concentration camp in Dachau where, in the presence of many participants of the Congress, a new memorial chapel was dedicated.

THIRD SEMESTER AT THE ISRAEL-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

On 8 September, the third semester of the Israel-American Institute of Biblical Studies was inaugurated with an evening lecture by Dr Ch. Wardi, on "The Ancient Church of Jerusalem", followed by a reception on the premises of the Institute. The programme of studies this year includes Hebrew, Archaeology, History of Jewish Thought, and Church History of the Holy Land. Monographic lectures on current affairs, archaeological field work, and excursions also form part of the curriculum.

The student body of the Institute includes ten Americans and four Norwegians, most of whom are graduates of colleges and theological seminaries. The new field director this year is Mr J. F. Prewitt of California.

BAPTIST BIBLE LAND SEMINAR

On 19 September, the Baptist Bible Land Seminar of 1960-1 was inaugurated at the Baptist Centre in Petach Tikva. The seminar has since met each Monday and has been devoted to biblical and historical studies. Papers were read on the following subjects: introductory themes to the study of the New Testament period; the structural form of the New Testament; the geographical situation; the spiritual message of the Book; the theological attitude towards Israel; the essential differences

between Judaism and Christianity; lines of emphasis and approach in the Judaeo-Christian encounter; a short history of the Eastern Churches; problems of an evangelical approach to them; a survey of Islam and an outline of steps towards an effective encounter with Islam.

SEMINARS FOR CHRISTIAN VISITORS

This summer saw several seminars conducted in Israel for Christian visitors from various parts of the world.

On 8 July, a group of eighteen professors and clergymen from the US, led by Prof. A. Katsh of New York University, arrived here for a six-week course of biblical and cognate studies, organized by the Jewish Agency. The classes included Hebrew, Bible, Archaeology, and Church History of the Holy Land. The group also made an extensive tour of the country to study modern life and conditions in Israel.

From 26 June to 10 August, a seminar was conducted for thirty French Protestant teachers, most of them women, by the External Relations Department of the Jewish Agency. Their programme included lectures on religion, education, minorities and refugees, as well as personal interviews and trips through the country.

Finally, a party of thirty-two Italian priests, all of them Bible students and teachers of Holy Scripture, arrived in Israel on 31 August, following a six-week seminar arranged for them in Jordan by the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*. Guided by the Rev. Prof. Donato Baldi, O.F.M., they spent seven days visiting the biblical and other archaeological sites between Dan and Beersheba.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE—1960

by J. PHILIP BUSKIRK, FIELD DIRECTOR

The work of the American Friends Service Committee in Israel is best known in Acre, where since 1950 it has conducted a community centre for residents of the city. A nursery school, attended by Arab and Jewish children, provided food, toys and books. A library afforded reading facilities in Arabic, Hebrew and English. There was a workshop for boys and sewing classes for girls. Evening programmes were organized for

adults, and a parents' association cooperated in the various activities of the centre. This year, in accordance with the principles of AFSC, arrangements were made to hand over the direction of the centre to the Acre municipality, and the Committee will now concentrate its efforts elsewhere. At the outset, the municipality will place emphasis on the youth programme, and will later develop the centre in accordance with the needs of the community.

Elsewhere in Israel, such activities as the Tur'an agricultural project and voluntary work camps have been succeeded by a programme of co-operation with Government and other agencies operating in Israel. *Service Civil International*, for example, now has an Israel branch which organizes international work camps every year with a minimum of aid from the Service Committee.

A major concern of the Committee is to help Arab, Druze and Circassian villages in Galilee to organize themselves for more effective participation in the life of the country. The Ministry of Social Welfare and other Government agencies, and the Histadrut (Labor Union), in their efforts to develop mutually satisfactory relations with these communities, have welcomed the assistance of the American Friends Service Committee. Two years ago, the Quaker Field Director took a group of Arab and Jewish social workers on a tour of village community centres in Southern Italy and Greece to see what new ideas might be applied in Israel.

The many demands on the staff have prevented a full-scale development of the plan for discussion groups to stimulate the free interchange of thought among Israelis of diverse backgrounds in a non-political setting. The staff hopes to revive this activity, however, and will take advantage of every opportunity to introduce interesting visitors from abroad. Through AFSC efforts, a considerable number of young people have attended work camps and international seminars in other countries. Arrangements are now being made for 1961.

It is customary for Quakers to send people to work for a specific purpose "as the way opens". The AFSC, acting in the spirit of Quaker beliefs, has been continually sending people to Israel to help establish conditions for peace and personal dignity for all in the Middle East. The support for this mission is derived from people, whatever their religious background, who share a concern and a sense of responsibility for the situation in this part of the world.

Throughout the past decade, the American Friends Service Committee has pursued the same purpose, while the "way" has kept opening anew.

THE NEWLY-FOUND BAR KOCHBA LETTERS

By PROF. YIGAEEL YADIN

The Hebrew University

Documents from the Second Jewish Revolt against the Romans (132-135 CE), apparently taken by Bedouin out of a cave north of Massada on the shore of the Dead Sea and now in Jordan hands, have been referred to for some time, and a few of them have been published by Father J. T. Milik. In January of this year, a team of archaeologists under Dr Y. Aharoni found relics of the rebel army in a cave located at Nahal Tse'elim. On 23 March, an expedition was organized to explore the entire surrounding area. Sponsored jointly by the Hebrew University, the Israel Exploration Society and the Government Antiquities Department, it was divided into four teams, respectively under the supervision of Prof. N. Avigad, Dr Y. Aharoni, Mr P. Bar-Adon and the writer (Pl. II/1). The army gave its full support, providing scouts and engineer and liaison units, while students and kibbutz volunteers added to the teams' strength.

This article is confined to the documents and objects—belonging to warriors of Bar Kochba—found in a large cave of Nahal Hever, south of Ein Geddi, in the area assigned to the writer's team (Pl. II/2).

The cave in question is situated below a cliff where once stood a Roman camp, and the entrance is accessible only by climbing a rope ladder. The mouth of the cave leads into a kind of corridor about 8 metres deep with a low roof, from which a narrow passage-way leads to the first chamber, about 40 x 30 metres and some 20 metres high at the centre. A small, winding passage-way leads to a second hall, of comparable size. The end of the third chamber, the longest of all, is about 150 metres from the entrance to the cave.

In the third chamber we found a burial niche, where lay the remains of some of Bar Kochba's warriors. The skulls were in a basket, some distance away were the bones, covered by mats, and between the bones and mats were a great many fragments of coloured cloth (Pl. III/1). Because of the extreme dryness of the cave, the cloth, basket and mats were well preserved.

A coin was the first article found which pointed directly to Bar Kochba.

On one side was stamped a palm tree with the inscription *Shim'on*; on the other, a grape cluster and the motto *leherut yerushalaim* ("For the Freedom of Jerusalem"). Almost immediately after, we found an arrow with a triangular metal head—a piece of ammunition which the warriors had no opportunity to use. A large number of shards had been deposited between the second and third chambers, a find which was dwarfed by the discovery—with the help of an army mine-detector—of a basket full of booty from a Roman legion (Pl. III/2). These objects, found in the first chamber, were packed closely and carefully. There were large and small jugs, some of them engraved near the handles with heads of birds and others with palm-like motifs. Of three incense shovels—large, medium and small—the first was unique: a goblet was fixed on each side of the handle. A fine *patera* (pan) was adorned at the top of the handle with a ram's head and in the centre with a bas-relief taken from Greek mythology: a kind of Triton, half man and half fish, with a woman (Thetis, the mother of Achilles) on the back of a dolphin. A Roman key with five teeth came out of the basket and, finally, two large bowls, wonderfully preserved. The obvious questions are: what were twelve jugs, three incense shovels, a cult pan, two bowls and a key doing in a basket in the cave, and why had the figures of Roman deities on the objects been defaced? Clearly the articles had served as Roman cult apparatus. Bar Kochba's men must have taken them as booty in a raid and perhaps, to adapt them to personal use, the rebels filed down the faces of the Roman religious symbols.

On 27 March we found written documents.

The first manuscript discovered was a small fragment from the Book of Psalms, chapters 15 and 16. The material was nicely worked animal hide—inferior, however, to parchment. The writing, which resembled that of all the scrolls found to date, is remarkably clear. Judging from the script, the fragment dates from about the time of the First Jewish Revolt, and it therefore falls between the period of the Qumrân Scrolls and the Second Revolt. The major portion of the scroll had been taken by Bedouin and our fragment had probably been dropped in the process. It may very well be the same scroll that yielded the fragments of the Book of Psalms, chapters 7 to 31, mentioned by Father Milik in Jordan.

It is not unusual for exciting discoveries to have some such simple prelude, in itself an occasion for rejoicing. That same afternoon, we discovered the first considerable collection of letters from Shimon Bar Kochba.

In the innermost hall (the third chamber), a water-bottle of goatskin lay in a small opening between a large rock and the wall. Since it could

not safely be dislodged, we first evacuated the contents. Out came large bundles of dyed raw wool wrapped in cloth, and skeins of wool in many colours. Then followed strings of beads, a bone spoon, metal beads and a spindle. A series of packets contained a salt stone, a peppercorn, sea shells and other materials. Then came forth a small bound package—a collection of papyri tied with two cords, one thick and one thin. Slats of wood with inscriptions were discernible among the papyri (Pl. IV/1).

Prior to the tedious work of unrolling the papyri, a preliminary perusal was possible. It revealed that there were four wooden slats, two entirely separate and two more which were folded and joined at the edges. At the end of one slat were clearly visible letters penned in cursive script, of a kind which appears in the documents of the Bar Kochba period found in Jordan. The letters join to form the name and title: *Shim'on Bar Kosibah Hannasi 'al Yisrael* (Shimon Bar Kosibah, Prince over Israel). Clearly the tablet, too large to be packed whole with the papyrus, had been cut into four slats; at the connecting point of the upper and lower slats, an X was written across the separation as a rejoining indication. The restored board, about 17.5 x 7.5 cm., was covered by two columns of writing which read from right to left. Nine lines were preserved in the right column and eight in the left and the ink inscription was very clear. This is the first known discovery in this country of an inscription on wood from this period, despite the fact that wood was widely used as writing material in the ancient East owing to the high cost of papyrus.

Written on the tablet is an order from *Shim'on Bar Kosibah* to *Yehonatan* and *Masabalah*, instructing them to confiscate wheat belonging to one *Tahnun Bar Yishmael* and send it to him (Bar Kochba) under guard. He threatens punishment for non-fulfilment of the order—a formulation known to us from a letter discovered in Jordan. The two men must further deal with some people from the city of Teqoa (in the Judaeen desert) in connection with the repair of houses, an injunction again followed by a warning if the order be not carried out. The third appointed task is the most interesting: the two men are ordered to seize a certain *Yeshua Bar Tadmoraya* (Tadmor-Palmyra) and to send him in under guard. Bar Kochba adds that they must not neglect to relieve their captive of his sword. The letter is signed *Shmuel Bar 'Ami*. As the signature is in a different handwriting from that employed in the body of the letter, we may assume that the signatory was not the writer of the letter, but served rather as Bar Kochba's adjutant or secretary, dictating letters to a scribe on his general's behalf.

Prof. James Biberkraut undertook the task of unrolling the papyri. The first four opened were more letters from Bar Kochba. The first of these was unfortunately a palimpsest; yet despite the lack of clarity in some of the lines, a substantial portion can be read. The second letter, written in Greek on a papyrus 24 x 9 cm., is addressed to the same Yehonatan and Masabalah. The third papyrus opened is about 8 x 12 cm. and contains inscriptions in a fine and still distinct hand. In it, Shimon commands *Yehonatan Bar Ba'aya* to do whatever *Elisha* commands him. We have no further information as to the contents of the order, but it gives an important insight into the form of command issued by Bar Kochba and throws light on his chain of command. The order is simple, direct and brief.

The next group of documents opened included three more letters. The first, written in Greek, is poorly preserved; but it does give us our first example of the name Kosibah written in Greek: $\kappa\omega\sigma\iota\beta\alpha$. The second is equally deteriorated. The third letter, however, though only 12 x 7 cm., has thirteen lines of script and an additional two lines of signature, all perfectly preserved. Shimon here commands Yehonatan and Masabalah and their men to reap the benefits of the property of one *El'azar Bar Hittah*. As in the case of the order written on wood, this letter is signed by a scribe-secretary, although the contents are written in the first person as if from Bar Kochba's hand. The secretary's name is *Shim'on Bar Yehudah*.

Another document, also 12 x 7 cm., is written in a crude hand. Shimon here commands Yehonatan and Masabalah to harvest the winter wheat in their sector. The terminology indicates that the wheat was to be harvested, although not yet completely ripe; apparently the army was in urgent need of food.

Of the next papyri opened, one was written in Hebrew and the others in Aramaic. The Hebrew letter, addressed to Yehonatan and Masabalah the people of Ein Geddi, begins thus: "You are sitting, eating and drinking of the property of the House of Israel and are not concerning yourselves about supplies for your own comrades-in-arms." It seems that Bar Kochba's authority was not very strong in the provinces. Obviously Yehonatan and Masabalah were, at the time, regional commanders at Ein Geddi, 6 km. north of Nahal Hever. In the same letter he instructs the two officers in the unloading of supplies from a boat "at your port". Clearly Ein Geddi was a significant import point for supplies, whence they were transported inland over roads which we know to have existed then. In

another letter the "people of Teqoa" are again mentioned as troublesome (Teqoa may have been some 18 km. south-east of Jerusalem on the fringe of the desert). And in a further letter Bar Kochba mentions a *Tirsos Bar Tininus*, of whom he says, "Bring him with you because we need him." This Tirsos Bar Tininus may have been a non-Jew and, if so, this document would lend support to the statement of ancient historians that non-Jews joined the rebels in quest of booty.

A letter written just before *Sukkot* (the Feast of Tabernacles) reads as follows: "From *Shim'on Bar Kosibah* to *Yehuda Bar Menashe* of *Qiryat 'Arvaya*. I sent you two donkeys for you to despatch with two men to *Yehonatan* and *Masabala*, in order that they load and send to the camp, to you, palms (*lulavim*) and citrons (*etrogim*)... you send others from your end to collect myrtle and willows... see that they are tithed, and send them to the camp... Peace be with you." It seems that Bar Kochba, an observant Jew, did not rely on *Yehonatan* and *Masabala* to set aside the tithe of citrons, and he therefore addressed this order to *Yeshua Bar Menashe*. (An examination of the coloured garments from the cave shows these rebels to have been observant of the Law, since the injunction on the wearing of *sha'atnez*—Leviticus 19:19—was not infringed). *Qiryat 'Arvaya* is located south of King Solomon's pools and south-east of *Beitar* (traditional place of Bar Kochba's death), at the head of a wadi which runs down to *Ein Geddi*. This letter must have been forwarded by *Yehuda Bar Menashe*, together with the men and donkeys, to the two officers, and thus it was found with the orders addressed to them. Based on traditional dating, the letter would have been written just before *Sukkot* of 134 CE.

This collection, which comprises nine letters in Aramaic, four in Hebrew and two in Greek from the army of *Shimon Bar Kochba*, Prince over Israel, gives us primary sources unavailable until now. We may safely assume that they were written at a time when Bar Kochba still commanded his forces. Probably *Yehonatan* and *Masabala*, upon taking refuge in the cave at *Nahal Hever*, brought the packet of orders from their commander. At the time the orders were written, the headquarters of Bar Kochba were outside Jerusalem, probably near *Beitar*.

The entire packet of papyri is now being subjected to thorough study, which we reasonably hope will throw even more light on this turbulent period, so important in the history of Judaea.



An area in the Judean desert explored by one of the teams in the expedition.



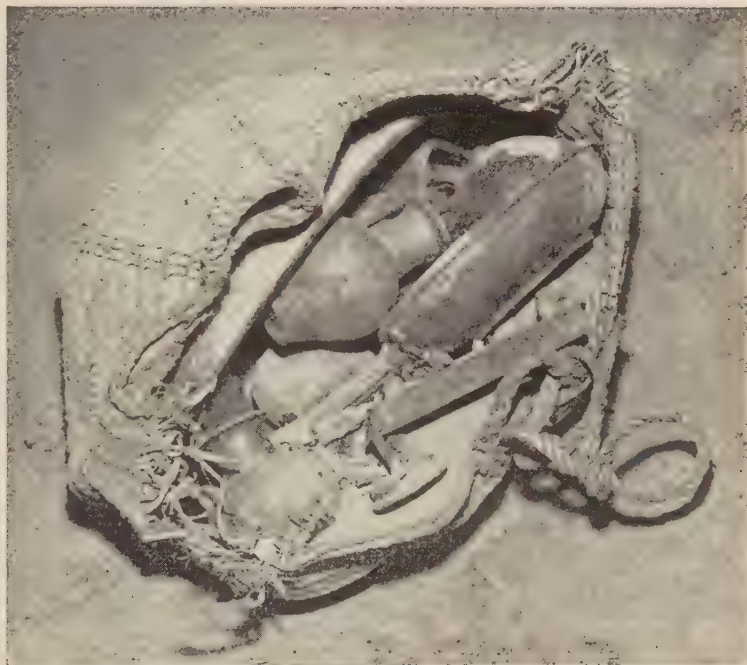
1. At night in the tent, planning the expedition. Two of the team leaders, Prof. Y. Yadin and Mr. P. Bar-Adon are in the center. The others are, left to right: Aluf (Brig.) A. Yoffe, CO Southern Command; Sgt. Y. Yeffet, in charge of camp three; and Mr. Y. Aviram, coordinator of the expedition.



2. Some members of the expedition look down over the cliff as one of their team is let down the wall of the mountain to enter the cave. The view of the vicinity gives some idea of the forbidding aspect of the terrain and the difficulty of access to the caves in the Dead Sea area explored in search of early documents and artifacts.



1. A burial niche in the Nahal Hever cave containing the remains of some of Bar Kochba's men. On the right are their skulls, collected in a large basket; in the center, the heap of their bones, found covered by mats.



2. A basket containing Roman cult vessels. The articles, located in the cave with a mine detector, were probably taken from a Roman camp in a raid by Bar Kochba's men.



1. The bundle of Bar Kothba letters found in the cave.



2. Prof. Yadin studying one of the letters.

THE BENEDICTINES IN THE HOLY LAND

by THE REV. FATHER BENEDICT STOLZ

Prior of the Dormition

(Continued from previous issue)

The Abbey of Mount Tabor. It is probable that the Benedictines were in charge of the Sanctuary of the Transfiguration even prior to the arrival of the Crusaders. It is certain that they were installed or re-established on Mount Tabor in the year 1100 or in the latter part of 1099. Like most monks who followed the Crusaders, they belonged to the Congregation of Cluny, then at the height of its prosperity. The Abbey of Mount Tabor, however, must have been among those which, while adopting the Cluniac practices, retained their autonomy.

In 1102, Abbot Gerard of Tabor, together with the Abbots of St Mary the Latin and Jehoshaphat, attended the council held in Jerusalem, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to judge Patriarch Daimbert. The following year (1103), Pope Pascal II, in a bull dated 29 July, conferred on Gerard the dignity of Archbishop of All Galilee and Tiberias, with permission to wear the pallium. This privilege was confirmed by Pope Eugene III to Abbot Pons.

The year 1113 was marked by a disaster: the Turks, under the command of Malduc, invaded Galilee and seized Tabor where they massacred the monks and the personnel in their service to the number of seventy-two. Bucelinus mentions them in his martyrology on 4 May, and so does Mabillon in the O.S.B. Annals. But before long, a new community was formed on Mount Tabor; in fact, already in 1115 Abbot Raymond is mentioned in a document as receiving a donation in Licia of Calabria. The Benedictines, in reconstructing their monastery, fortified it and installed a garrison of Turcopoles. Peter, Abbot of Mount Tabor, participated in the Council of Nablus in 1120. In 1183, Bernard, Abbot of Mount Tabor, and Fulk, Abbot of St Paul of Antioch, signed a pact. The monks of both houses regarded one another as being part of the same community and undertook to provide mutual hospitality in case of expulsion. In that same year, the monks of Tabor were attacked and succeeded in repulsing their enemies. But they could

not resist Saladin's troops after the disastrous battle of Hattin, and had to withdraw to Acre. The Abbot of Mount Tabor is mentioned among the bishops and abbots who wrote from Acre in 1244 to the prelates of France and England informing them of the defeat suffered by the Christians at Gaza on 17 October, 1244.

It was in 1255 that Mount Tabor ceased to belong to the Benedictines. In that year, Pope Alexander IV transferred the abbey and all its possessions and privileges to the Hospitallers, at the same time placing them under obligation to provide for the upkeep of the abbot and monks during their lifetime.

Outside the large abbeys, there were other monks who belonged to the Order of St Benedict in the Holy Land. In the preface to the Sixth Benedictine Century of the *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, Mabillon asserts that native monks in Palestine at the time of the Crusades spontaneously entered the Order of St Benedict and were affiliated to the Congregation of Cluny. St Peter Damian sent them a letter of congratulation on this account. According to the report of Rodolphus (1346), there was a monastery at the foot of the mountain of Moses (Sinai), where a hundred Greek monks followed the Rule of St Benedict.

As for the Benedictines in the Holy Land, we have already spoken of the Community of St Mary Minor (after the restoration, St Mary Major) near the Holy Sepulchre.

There was also—even before the Crusades—a community of nuns at the Sanctuary of St Mary (later called St Anne), near the Pool of Bethesda. It is certain that in the thirteenth century this community followed the Rule of St Benedict, as stated by contemporary writers. This, and the fact that Princess Arda (the repudiated wife of Baldwin I) joined this community, support the hypothesis that the nuns living at St Anne's when the Crusaders arrived were of Western origin and of the Benedictine Order. History has preserved for us the memory of two other princesses who embraced the religious life there: Yvette or Judith, sister of Melisende and daughter of Baldwin II, who took the veil in 1130; and later, Theodora, widow of Baldwin III.

In 1187, after taking Jerusalem, Saladin converted the church of St Anne into a mosque, and the convent into a *madrassa* (a Moslem school). The nuns attempted to deform their appearance in order to escape the outrages of the conquerors. The community withdrew to Acre, where it was still to be found in 1256.

Abbey of St Lazarus in Bethany. Arculfe, in the eighth century, saw a

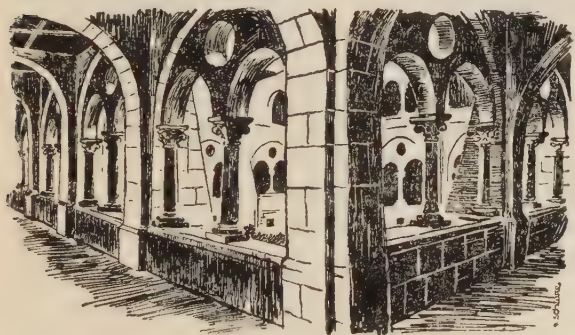
monastery of vast proportions near the tomb of Lazarus, and a church over the grotto where the Lord resuscitated his friend. At the time of the Crusades this sanctuary became the property of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1143, Pope Celestine II authorized King Fulk and Queen Melisende to establish a monastic community of men and women at St Lazarus in Bethany. Some time later, a community of Benedictine nuns took possession of the sanctuary under the governance of Abbess Mathilde. As she died soon after, Queen Melisende, with the consent of the patriarch, appointed her own sister Judith to this position. The latter was followed by Abbesses Eve (1173 to 1175) and Melisende (1175 to 1187). In 1187, the nuns of Bethany sought refuge at Acre, as did those of St Anne's and the Benedictines of the three large abbeys mentioned above.

The list of monasteries of the Order of St Benedict in Palestine would not be complete if we did not add those of the Cistercian branch. Although St Bernard became the apostle of the Second Crusade, he did not wish his monks to go to Palestine. He even went so far as to pronounce the penalty of excommunication against those Cistercians who departed for the Holy Places.

Nevertheless, the Cistercians were not long in founding several houses in Palestine. The first appears to have been the Abbey of St Mary of Belmont, near Tripoli, which was founded in 1149 by the Abbey of Morimond. The Abbey of Belmont displayed great vitality, for we learn that within the space of a century it founded four new monasteries, all situated at Famagusta on the Island of Cyprus.

The Cistercian Nuns founded an abbey at Acre. The name of one of their abbesses, Mary, figures in a charter of the Hospitallers sanctioning the transfer by lease of several houses and a plot of land, made over to her by Garin de Montaigu, Grand Master of the Hospital.

The Cistercians, the last of the sons of St Benedict to establish institutions in the Holy Land during the Middle Ages, were the first to reappear in Palestine, after a lapse of some seven



centuries. The Trappists, or Reformed Cistercians, arrived in the Holy Land in 1890 to found the monastery of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows in Latrun. In 1937, the Rev. Father Paul Cuvreur was elected the first abbot of the community, which had become quite numerous. The Rev. Father Elias Corbisier succeeded him in 1952.

It was not long before the "black" Benedictines (the Cistercians wear a white habit) also made their appearance in the Holy Land. First came the Benedictines of the large Congregation of Subiaco, in 1899, with the blessing of Leo XIII. They directed a Syrian seminary in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives, restored the church of Abu Ghosh and helped the Maronite and Melkite monks to renew their religious life.

In 1952, this branch of the Order of St Benedict began to withdraw from the Holy Land; but another Benedictine congregation, that of Beuron, sent monks to the Holy Land to guard the Sanctuary of the Dormition on Mount Zion. The monks of the Dormition had also taken charge of the Latin Patriarchal Seminary at Beit Jallah from 1921 until 1932. Meanwhile, the Holy See had raised the monastery on Mt Zion to the dignity of an abbey in 1926. The first abbot was the Rev. Father Maurus Kaufmann. He was followed by the Rev. Father Leo Rudloff, who had been sent as Apostolic Administrator of the Dormition, and who received the Abbatial Benediction in Rome on 6 January, 1953.

Already at the beginning of 1951, the Abbey had been detached from the Benedictine Congregation of Beuron, and placed directly under the S. Congregation of Religious, which exercises its control through the Abbot-Primate, President of the entire Order of St Benedict. The Community of the Dormition of Mary has since belonged to the Order in general. In this connection, a new task has been assigned to the monastery, with the consent of the Abbot-Primate: to set up a centre of biblical studies for the various members of the Order. The realization of this project, however, is dependent on two conditions: the restoration of the premises and the re-establishment of free traffic between the New City and the Old City of Jerusalem. In fact, it would be indispensable for the students to make use of the higher institutions of biblical studies in both parts of the city. Nevertheless, a number of Benedictines from different countries have already come to stay at the Dormition.

Just as in the Middle Ages the Benedictines of the Holy Land represented the entire Catholic world and were recruited from all countries, so today the community of the Dormition, together with that of Tabgha on the shore of Genesareth, already includes members from

six nations; and it seeks recruits in all countries, at the moment particularly in the United States, where in the Priory of Weston young men are preparing themselves for service in the Holy Places of the Dormition and of the Multiplication of the Loaves.

To conclude: the Benedictines, after having acquitted themselves for more than six centuries of the noble duty of guarding the Holy Places and officiating at several sanctuaries, made way for the children of St Francis, who have fulfilled this task up to the present day with admirable constancy and devotion.

The Order of St Benedict today must content itself with the two sanctuaries mentioned. It is particularly happy to be represented on Mount Zion, close by the Coenaculum, where the Christian liturgy began, this liturgy, of which the dignified celebration has always been its principal object, conforming to the will of its legislator:

Operi Dei nihil praeponatur.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

KING HEROD: PORTRAIT OF A RULER, by ABRAHAM SCHALIT, Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, 1960. Pp. 542 (Hebrew).

This book represents the most comprehensive effort thus far to understand and appraise the magnificent and tragic, yet coldblooded and cruel, personality of King Herod, whom posterity has called "the Great". Since Professor Schalit often treats his subject in a quite original fashion, an extensive review is called for. While touching but briefly on the general aspects of the author's historical interpretation, we shall have to elaborate our criticism of the theses—or rather hypotheses—which represent the key to his appreciation of Herod.

In a critical introduction, he surveys the relevant scientific literature and concludes that these diverse historical interpretations are certainly not free from prejudice. On the one hand, there are the works which, marred by anti-Semitic tendencies, are summarily partial to Herod and unfavourably inclined towards the intransigent Jews, who reap all the blame. At the other extreme are the foregone conclusions of Jewish national sentiment which view Herod as a criminal and a savage. The only

work singled out by the author as avoiding this general black-and-white approach is Walter Otto's article in Paulys *Realenzyklopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Supplementband II.

Schalit's first chapter deals with "The End of the Hasmonean Family and the Rise of Antipater and his Dynasty" (pp. 13–36). The consequent fate of Jerusalem could have been avoided if Aristobulus, son of King Yannai, had taken proper advantage of his political position. He should have been content to preserve a far-reaching autonomy as an ally of Rome instead of seeking complete political independence. In contrast to the enterprising Hasmonean Aristobulus, set upon a disastrous political course, we find his sluggish brother Hyrcanus a tractable pawn in the hands of Antipater, who realized that only a voluntary alliance with Rome was likely to vouchsafe a degree of domestic autonomy. This already implied the virtual end of the Hasmonean dynasty, while paving the way for Herod's rise to power. The Pharisees, too, opposed Aristobulus—though from religious motivations—because he continued the hateful po-

licies of Alexander Yannai. Thus the political ambition of Antipater joined forces with the religious interests of the Pharisees. It is a tribute to the political wisdom of Antipater that he remained in the background and pursued his course as agent for Hyrcanus.

In "Herod's Ascent to Kingship" (pp. 37-59), Schalit describes the political events in Rome and Judaea which led to the fall of the Hasmoneans and the rise of the Herodian dynasty. The family of Aristobulus, which repeatedly sought to seize power for itself, brought together, despite all crises, the high priest Hyrcanus and the two sons of Antipater (Herod and Phasael). In these circumstances Herod became engaged to the Hasmonean Mariamne, descended from Aristobulus on her father's side and from Hyrcanus on her mother's. The author sees in this betrothal and consequent marriage a love-match without political motives. The author claims that in the Hellenistic outlook of Herod the Hasmonean family of priests and kings had forfeited its legal claim to power after having in fact lost all power to him. As a result, "marital ties with the Hasmoneans had no factual political significance in the eyes of Herod. Moreover, Herod felt that as the victor he had dealt generously with the vanquished house of high priests in marrying Mariamne, thereby imparting some of his royal glory to her and her family" (p. 274). But Mariamne, and her mother Alexandra even more so, saw in the marriage a *mésalliance*,

an attitude unpropitious for the young couple.

The grave crisis of the Parthian invasion of Syria (40 BC), as a result of which Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, came to Jerusalem as high priest with the support of the Parthians, gave Herod the opportunity for a complete seizure of power. He evacuated his family to Massada, together with Mariamne and Alexandra. Then he hastened to Rome, where the Senate pronounced him king over Judaea, raising him to the status of *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*. As king without a kingdom, he had first to conquer his country in an exhausting three-year war. During the siege of Jerusalem, he married Mariamne at Samaria. In 37 BC he took Jerusalem, being supported by Roman troops during the last phase of his conquest. The defeated Antigonus was forced to surrender and, by order of Antony, was beheaded at Antioch.

"The Beginning of King Herod's Reign" (pp. 60-84) is the third chapter. Immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem, Herod liquidated the supporters of Antigonus. The author aptly defines the objective of Herod's domestic policy as "the complete removal of Hasmonean descendants from any office which bestowed upon its holder any authority or influence, and ultimately the extermination of this entire family" (p. 64). His last possible rival was Mariamne's younger brother Aristobulus, who was pretender to the office of high priest, denied to Herod owing to his

descent. After the people acclaimed Aristobulus on Sukkot of 36 BC, when he appeared in the vestments of the high priest, Herod had him drowned—as if in sport—while bathing at Jericho. The male line of the Hasmoneans was thereby liquidated; at the same time, the relationship between Herod and Mariamne reached its lowest ebb.

Octavian's victory over Antony at Actium (31 BC) was a turning point in Herod's life. His former alignment with Antony made him feel severely compromised. Prior to his "Canossa visit" to Rhodes in the spring of 30 BC, he eliminated, as a precaution, the last possible Hasmonean contender, the aged and mutilated Hyrcanus. He succeeded in convincing Octavian of his own usefulness to the Romans and, in place of the anticipated punishment, received a considerable addition to his territory. His family life, however, progressively deteriorated. In 29 (or early 28) BC, he had his beloved Mariamne executed on a charge of "adultery and plotting to poison her husband" and soon afterwards Alexandra was sentenced to death.

The most important—if rather too elaborate—chapter is the fourth one, "Herod the Ruler and his Régime" (pp. 85-239). The first part (pp. 85-94) deals with the political-legal foundations of Herod's rule as a satellite king within the Roman Empire. He was permitted to mint only copper—not silver—coins and was obliged to provide auxiliary troops for the Romans whenever the need arose.

Thus he came to realize "that the emperor's favour was the first and only basis for Herod's rule in Judaea" (p. 91). He was allowed to maintain an army of his own, consisting of his conscript subjects and foreign mercenaries. Rome also gave him a free hand in domestic affairs, so that he could reign as an absolute monarch.

In the next part of this chapter Schalit discusses, with many a learned digression, Herod's domestic administration. He explains the division of the kingdom into provinces and respective offices against the background of comparable institutions in the kingdoms of the Persians, Alexander, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. In this context he traces the historical development of institutions such as *pelekh* (פלך) and *toparchy* (τοπαρχία). John Hyrcanus and Alexander Yannai set up toparchies only in areas with a dense Jewish or circumcised population. The author maintains that in Yannai's days there were twenty-four such toparchies, corresponding to the twenty-four priestly watches (p. 110); during Herod's reign only nineteen were left (p. 114). He thinks that there was no toparchial administration for pagan areas in Herod's realm: for them the structure had remained of the Hellenistic *polis*, which as an administrative unit was called *meris* (μερίς, township). Thus Herod took over a pre-established system of civil administration for the Jewish and pagan districts of Judaea.

He also enjoyed autonomy with

respect to legislation and jurisdiction. In addition to the Jewish code, he had Roman and Hellenistic law at his disposal. While the Sanhedrin continued to be the highest legislative and judicial authority for internal Jewish affairs, he could withdraw any case from the Jewish courts and try it under his royal jurisdiction.

Herod's income derived from his own property and from State taxation. The former comprised patrimonial estates in Idumaea, cash inheritance, the confiscated possessions of his enemies (including those of the Hasmoneans) and business profits. The author's treatment here is especially detailed. In order better to understand the historical interrelationships he discusses Jewish, Hellenistic and Roman tax policies. He conjectures that Herod took the census repeatedly in the course of his reign for the concomitant poll-tax (pp. 142 ff.).

The extinction of the Sanhedrin's authority indicates the essential character of the Herodian system of government. The forty-five members who had been murdered in 37 BC for their Hasmonean affiliation were replaced by Herod's own partisans, drawn "perhaps from Pharisee circles" (p. 155). The political suppression of the Sanhedrin is also reflected in the numismatic evidence: whereas the legends on Hasmonean coins bear mention of the people's representation (חבר היהודים), the inscriptions on Herodian coins—in Greek—bear only the royal name. Along with his repression of the Sanhedrin, the king

reduced to political insignificance the office of the high priest, which had previously borne more honour than the throne itself. It was effectively reduced to the status of a royal official as a result of three measures taken by Herod: it ceased to be a hereditary position; the appointment was not even for life; the vestments of the high priest were kept under royal control and issued to him only for the Temple service.

A treatment of Herod's building projects is followed by the section most significant for Schalit's appraisal of the king (pp. 215 ff.). For political reasons, Herod was unwilling to lag behind the other oriental satellite kings of the Roman Empire. He therefore shared in the imperial cult, unmindful of the Jewish prohibition. "True, Herod refrained from establishing the imperial cult as such in Jerusalem... But in Sebaste-Samaria and Caesarea, which were predominantly pagan in population, Herod did not hesitate to build sanctuaries in honour of the Emperor" (p. 215).

Exhausted from continuous civil wars, the peoples of the Empire yearned for peace and economic prosperity. "Hence it was announced in some Greek cities of the East, after the victory [at Actium], that Octavian was the redeemer (*soter*) of the world" (p. 219). Octavian understood the spirit of the times and realized that his empire must be oecumenical rather than merely Roman. In the course of time, a second component emerged. The concept of *humanitas* united the many nations

of the Roman Empire into bearers of the Roman-Hellenistic culture of the civilized world. "This means that the Roman Empire is the framework without which *humanitas* has no hold at all. Only by virtue of the Empire are its inhabitants rendered human, partaking of the benefits poured out upon them by this *humanitas*. It actually bestows on them the ability to be *humani*. If not for it, they would become *inhumani* and *barbari*. In other words: the Roman Empire alone is surety for all those values which make up human civilization" (p. 221). By virtue of this idea, Rome appears to the nations of the Empire not as ruler, but as the guarantor of peace. After the blending of the idea of *Imperium* with that of *Principatus*, Herod also joined in the imperial cult in vogue in the East, since now his reign too was dependent upon the emperor's will.

The next part of the chapter is called "The Reign of Herod and the Reign of the Messiah" (pp. 223-228). Traditional Judaism could see in Octavian neither deity nor saviour. Herod's experience at Rhodes, however, had led him to view Octavian as his own saviour and redeemer, who had not only pardoned him but had also enlarged his kingdom. Sharing the feeling of the ancient world, which anticipated the advent of a new era after the victory at Actium, and owing to his own active inclusion in this new order by Octavian, Herod cherished the hope that his realm as well would have an unforeseen and unprecedented era of prosperity.

The author begins the next section, "The Message of Herod" (pp. 228-239), with a discussion of Herod's opponents and their objections to his government. There were, first, the Hasmonean loyalists, with their nationalist and dynastic misgivings, and the populace, resentful of his arbitrary policies. Since the grievances of these two groups involved no ideological issues, it was relatively easy for Herod to deal with them. More difficult was the opposition of the group called by Schalit, somewhat oversimply, "the zealot Pharisees" (הפרושים הקנאים). These would accept as legitimate no rule but the messianic kingdom of the scion of David. The seventeenth Psalm of Solomon is especially representative of their position. They believed that Herod could not rely on divine support since he had come to power not through God's will but as a result of favoring political circumstances. To appease them, Herod included in his grandiose building programme the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Schalit thinks that he further tried to counter the objections of any group with a Davidic-Messiah orientation by tracing his ancestry to King David, although "we possess no information about the tortuous lines of Herod's genealogy until it reached back to David..." (p. 234). The author further contends that, in enlarging his kingdom and rebuilding the Temple, Herod pursued activities expected of the Davidic Messiah. Thus he became convinced "that he was none other than the personification of the Messiah as

foretold by the prophets" (ibid.), and claimed for himself descent from King David.

According to the author, Herod's messianic position in the Jewish sections of his kingdom placed him alongside the deified emperor. Consequently, the messianic title became for him the Jewish equivalent of the pagan deification of the ruler. This conception of the Messiah divested the ancient Jewish concept of its traditional meaning: it would apply to him who would lead Israel to its anticipated equal status within the framework of the *oecumene* of *humanitas*, the Roman Empire of the *Princeps Augustus*. The messianic hope was thus reduced "to a state affair of the Roman Empire". Herod "demanded that the Jews see in the new Roman reality of Augustus the fulfilment of their messianic belief" (p. 237). The author cites Epiphanius (*Panarion*, XX, 1) to show that the Herodians applied to their ruler the words of Genesis 49:10, *ad ki yavo shilo*.

The fifth chapter deals with "The Relationship between the People of Israel and the Kingdom of Herod" (pp. 240-273). The author traces the development of Jewish ideas from the period of the Babylonian exile. Almost nowhere in this section can the reviewer agree unreservedly with the author's interpretation of the material. Schalit unjustifiably enlarges the gulf between the universalist and separatist tendencies within exilic and post-exilic Jewry. His claim that the religious zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah

was also directed against the proselytes constitutes a grave misinterpretation—a violation, even—of the source material. Here the author has departed from his principle of *sine ira et studio*: his entire sympathy belongs rather to the ancient syncretistic humanism than to the God of Ezra and Nehemiah. The distinctness of Israel was, as the author seems to have forgotten, the negation of a world which led consistently to the deification of benefactors—or alleged benefactors—of mankind.

The author is undoubtedly correct in his assertion that during the last half of the Second Temple period the consciousness of the chosen people and the separatist tendencies of Judaism were exceptionally prominent. We cannot understand how the author could fail to discuss the problem of the apocalyptic in his treatment of the Book of Daniel and the Hasidean movement. He quite correctly depicts the schism within the Maccabean-Hasidean coalition: hoping for the eschatological and universal Kingdom of God, the Hasideans must have been suspicious of the mundane objectives of the Hasmoneans, who strove to make Israel one of the nations of the world.

The author then describes the development of the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes. It seems to the reviewer that here again the matter has been oversimplified. It is extremely unlikely that the Sadducees were, from their inception, the party of the Hasmoneans (p. 256). Sound for the reigns of John Hyrcanus and Alex-

ander Yannai, the thesis is again inapplicable to that of Salome Alexandra. Schalit rightly describes the Hasmonean opposition as composed of Essenes and Pharisees. The more radical, minority group were the Essenes, whom the author aptly calls (p. 257) "zealot and extremist Hasideans" (חסידים קנאים ומפלגים). He regrettably overlooks the significance of the apocalyptic-eschatological tendencies for Hasideans and Essenes, while highly overrating the quietist elements, referred to especially by Josephus and Philo. It is clear from Daniel 2:39, Enoch 91:12 and the large historical-theological "Flock Apocalypse" in the historical part of the Ethiopic Enoch that the Hasideans, all their messianic expectations notwithstanding, by no means felt that they would be mere spectators at the ultimate destruction of their enemies. Similar lines are followed by the *Paraineses* of Enoch (especially 95:3-7, 96:1 and 98:12) and in some respects also Jubilees 23:20. The Essene expectation of a war of vindication can, of course, also be substantiated from the Qumrân texts.

In sharp contrast to the Essenes, who withdrew from practical politics, the Pharisees maintained that the Hasmoneans must be opposed on their own ground, viz politics and everyday life. Here again, however, the presentation of the messianic doctrine of the Pharisees as opposed to that of the Essenes is incorrect. When preparing a new edition or a translation of this important work, Schalit would

be well advised to rethink this entire section and to take his lead from the thoughts to which he alludes on p. 490, n. 97. It would also be valuable to give greater consideration to the European reference literature on the subject of Essene messianic expectations.

The author exaggerates the significance of messianism for the Essenes and Pharisees in their dispute with the Hasmoneans. As apocalyptists the Essenes awaited the early materialization of the Kingdom of God, a hope only incidentally connected with the messianic expectation, while the Pharisees strove to realize the Kingdom of God in this world, through a separatist existence in compliance with law and tradition. For them the messianic element in general played only a secondary role. In this context, it is disastrous for Schalit that he clings uncritically to the obsolete view that the Psalms of Solomon are typical of Pharisaism, without considering that we have not one messianic utterance from Hillel or Shammai, or from any talmudic sage of the first generation prior to the death of Yochanan ben Zakkai.

As the author points out, Herod was able to exploit the anti-Hasmonean attitude of the Pharisees and Essenes, which facilitated for him the process of integration in the Roman-Hellenistic *oecumene*. However, the idea of election and the separatist tendency, which were responsible for their rejection of the Hasmoneans, made it equally impossible for them to approve the spirit of the *oecumene*,

in which Israel would be accepted as a nation among nations. For them the *Pax Romana* represented no final state: the Roman Empire was merely a transitional worldly realm, to be one day superseded by the final messianic rule of Israel. Neither group could accept the Herodian notion of "a Caesar-Augustan and Roman-Imperial 'messianism', that is to say, a messianism which made Rome and its ruler middlemen for the redemption of Israel" (p. 272).

In the two concluding chapters, "Herod and his Court" and "The Man and the King", the author extensively treats the sad family life of the king and, as a historian, tries to do him justice. As he frequently introduces details fully discussed in previous chapters, these warrant no particular comment.

We commend the ample and carefully prepared apparatus of notes (pp. 345-504), the appendices and index. And while good print may be

taken for granted, the craftsmanship in this book deserves special mention. The notes, with Hebrew, Greek and Latin phrases juxtaposed, represent a high typographical achievement.

"King Herod" is the fruit of many years of scholarly research. While one may often disagree with Professor Schalit—sometimes even on decisive points—the work must be considered the high-watermark in Herodian studies, which no future student of the subject will be able to ignore. It should be translated as soon as possible into European languages, for only then will it be of value to classical philologists and historians of the New Testament period, for whom also it has been written and with whom Schalit conducts an unremitting argument.

This work by a Hebrew University professor demonstrates that the genuine humanist spirit has come home to Jerusalem.

Kurt Schubert

EUROPE AND THE JEWS, by MALCOLM HAY. Beacon Press, Boston, 1960. 352 pp.

Malcolm Hay's history of "the pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 years" was first published under the title "The Foot of Pride", in 1950. It is a terrible indictment, fully documented and annotated by Mr Hay, a Scottish Catholic who is well known as the author of studies in Scottish Catholic history. This paperback reprint comes

at a time when, from the very highest seat of Christendom, there are signs of a reversal of the age-old religious intolerance that has done so much evil not only to the Jewish people but to the soul of Europe. Unhappily, the benign spirit of Pope John XXIII is not universal, even among Christians. Only recently there have been ominous manifestations of a neo-Nazism in Europe and America, with a congress in Paris, claiming the Jews as the principle target; and from behind

the Iron Curtain come disquieting reports of a recrudescence of the monstrous blood libel. By implication, this book is an impeachment not only of those who by commission attempted the destruction of the Jews, but also of all who by omission—by not raising their voice against the evil—aided and abetted it.

Fittingly, the book begins its history of the long-lived persecution with an account of its crescendo under the Nazis. Although this régime might be considered anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish, few Christian protests were clearly audible against the Nazi plan of genocide, which “nearly succeeded because it was allowed to develop without interference”.

Jan Masaryk is quoted as saying: “...One pipe-line I have watched with horror all my life; it is that through which, for centuries, Jewish blood has flowed sporadically, and with horrible, incessant streams from 1933 to 1945. I will not, I cannot, forget this unbelievable fact, and I bow my head in shame as one of those who permitted this greatest of wholesale murders to happen, instead of standing up with courage and decision against its perpetrators before it was too late.”

Masaryk, of course, was doing himself an injustice. Others should have cried *peccavi*, and the book is devoted partly to the responsibility of the bystanders in high places who remained inactive while the plan of destruction was proceeded with. We are reminded of those inter-governmental committees which in the whole

wide world could not find place for those who might have been saved.

Having noted this, the book goes back to the origins. “The way was prepared by a hatred which has a long history. The inoculation of the poison began long ago in the nurseries of Christendom”. It was instilled by Popes and prelates and Saints, and by intellectuals in our own day.

Various factors contributed to the prejudices that so easily moved on to intolerance, then persecution, and finally genocide. One was the “obstinacy” of the Jews in daring to wish to remain themselves. In the early history of the Church, Sozomen wrote, “My mind has often been exercised in inquiring how it is that other men are very ready to believe in God the Word, while the Jews are so incredulous.” From that, the next step. As Mr Hay remarks, Athanasius did not tell the people to go out and beat up the Jews. He only told them that “the Jews are no longer the people of God, but rulers of Sodom and Gomorrah,” and he asked the ominous question, “What is left unfulfilled, that they should now be allowed to disbelieve with impunity?” And when St Ambrose preached that the Synagogue was “a house of impiety, a receptacle of folly,” it is not surprising that he should follow up by actually ordering the burning of a synagogue, as he himself boasted, adding that since synagogues contained nothing of any value, “what could the Jews lose by the fire?” Or St John Chrysostom. “The synagogue is worse than a brothel... it is the den

of scoundrels and the repair of wild beasts... the temple of demons devoted to idolatrous cults... the refuge of brigands and debauchees..."

That was many centuries ago. But Mr Hay quotes W.R.W. Stephens, an English clergyman, who wrote in 1872: "Allowing for some exaggeration in the preacher, the invectives of St Chrysostom must be permitted to prove that the Jewish residents in Antioch were of a low and vicious order." As Mr Hay ends his first chapter: "This condemnation of the people of Israel, in the name of God... helped to strengthen the tradition of hate handed on through the Dark Ages and welcomed by mediaeval Christendom, a tradition which has disfigured the whole history of Western Europe."

The next chapter has some relief in it — the tolerance exercised by some of the Popes, prelates and Kings in the Middle Ages; rarely, though, out of a spirit of humanity (St Anselm of Canterbury was an exception) but rather from the desire to convert the Jews or because of their economic usefulness. New lands, in Central and Eastern Europe, accepted Jews, but prejudice soon enough caught up with them—in Germany, in Hungary, in Austria, in Poland, spread sometimes by renegade Jews.

Mr Hay deals with the charges against Jews as moneylenders. Two of his quotations may usefully be repeated. After they had been expelled from England in 1290, Thomas Wilson wrote of the Christian moneylenders: "They are worse than the

Jews, for go whither you will throughout Christendom, and deal with them (the Jews), and you shall have for ten under the hundred, yea sometimes for six at their hands, whereas English usurers exceed all God's mercy, and will take they care not how much." And Bishop Grosseteste, who was no friend of the Jews, wrote: "Shun the Christian usurers because they are all without mercy, and resort to Jewish ones instead."

Perhaps the best refutation of this particular charge against the Jews is the ancient one of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, whom Mr Hay quotes as writing of the Egyptians: "Money was their god. And this is also worshipped by the Christians, the Jews, and by the whole universe." And he adds this from Lord Samuel: "Abstinence, hard work, and intelligence win success in competition; they do not win friends among competitors."

A chapter is devoted to the most wicked of all libels, that of ritual murder. The scientific ignorance of the Dark Ages could ascribe the outbreak of plague to a despised minority rather than to primitive sanitary conditions. But the cruel myth that Jews used the blood of Christian children for their Passover celebrations (sometimes it was said to be for Purim) was deliberately fostered. Its influence has been felt down to modern times. Even so gentle a person as Charles Lamb could say: "I have in the abstract no disrespect for the Jews... I confess I have not the nerves to enter their synagogues. Old prejudices cling close about me. I

cannot shake off the story of Hugh of Lincoln." As Hitler knew, the more oft-repeated the lie, the more credible it appears. As late as 1911 a popular English textbook said, "It is difficult to refuse all credit to stories so circumstantial and so frequent."

So the poison spread through the centuries and throughout Europe and beyond. Having described its origins in detail, Mr Hay devotes a large part of his study to its dissemination among and by the intellectuals of modern Europe. Here is the 19th century English historian, Edward Freeman, when British public opinion was expressing its shock at pogroms in Russia: "I am furious at all this Jew humbug. I do say that if any nation chooses to wallop its own Jews 'tis no business of any other nation." It was not a question of non-interference in the affairs of other countries, for earlier he had written: "Water enough to wash away the whole accursed den of Jewry . . . would be a real blessing to the whole civilized world."

In the aptly-named chapter, "God-fathers of Belsen," Mr Hay describes the activities and influence of Drumont on modern French and European anti-Semitism. One of Drumont's disciples was the pious novelist and playwright, Georges Bernanos, on whose death in 1948 the London "Times" said that for him literature was a "kind of sacrament." Here is

what Bernanos wrote of Père Besières, who had attacked Drumont: "I do not want to be rude, but you were ill-advised to allow your filth to drop on his poor tomb, even if you had to relieve yourself, my friend."

In England, Hilaire Belloc and the Chestertons were more polite but not less venomous in their anti-Semitism. When G. K. Chesterton condoned the massacres of Jews during the First Crusade, he was in effect preparing public opinion to accept the later massacres by the Nazis. So, too, was H. G. Wells, who, in 1939, after writing, "I have a considerable number of Jewish friends," added his opinion that "the raucous voice of the Nazi might after all be saying something worth hearing." In wry comment on this, Mr Hay notes that Ribbentrop told the Nuremberg tribunal that "many of my best friends are Jews."

Mr Hay's story shows that the theological roots of anti-Semitism run deep into the past and, having been nurtured for centuries, it will be no simple matter to extirpate them. What is needed is a serious and concerted effort on the part of world Christendom to destroy the weed of hatred and cultivate in its place the flower of love. In this hope one may perhaps be encouraged by the attitude of Pope John XXIII and of some other Christian leaders in different parts of the world.

S. C. Hyman

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READERS of this journal often send enquiries regarding the availability of tourist facilities in connection with projected visits and pilgrimages. We therefore call attention to "A Tourist Companion to Israel", published by the Israel Government Tourist Corporation, 60 King George Avenue, Jerusalem.

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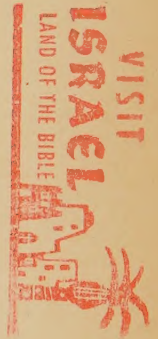
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